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MEMORANDUM FOR:	Deputy Director for Intelligence	
VIA:	Douglas MacEachin Director, Office of Soviet Analysis	•
FROM:	Director, Policy Analysis Division Office of Soviet Analysis	STAT
SUBJECT:	Request for Approval of Oral Presentation	
Institution semi academic year of "Washington Area September 1983 to academic special"	have been "core group" members of this group	STAT
2. Request following the attounclassified will not involve Agency officer ausual, the group official Agency		STAT
-		STAT

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SUBJECT: Request for Approval of Oral Presentation

I have reviewed the attached request and with the understanding that the presentation will be unclassified, approve it.

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## Soviet View of East-West Relations Five Years After SALT II

- I. Key Soviet Perspectives
  - A. Correlation of forces
    - 1. From optimism toward pessimism
    - 2. From intercontinental to medium range focus
    - 3. Trends: 1979 vs 1984
  - B. Main Adversary United States
    - Harshness toward incumbent President, '80 and '84
    - 2. State of relationship: from "unsatisfactory" to something worse
    - 3. Defense policies--long-term or transitory?
    - 4. Is downturn in relations cyclical or linear?
  - C. European Battleground
    - East Europe intrudes Poland
    - West Europe stiffens internal as well as NATO changes pose challenge
- II. Domestic Political Dimension
  - A. Brezhnev era stability in 1979
    - 1. Long-time team of seniors in place
    - 2. Importance of foreign policy to them
  - B. Brezhnev's decline coincides with downturn in East-West relations -- 1980 - 1982
    - 1. Kosygin and Suslov depart
    - 2. Andropov and Chernenko arrive
  - C. Andropov interlude -- 1982 1984
    - 1. Unsettling drive against corruption
    - 2. INF and US policies dominate Andropov's E-W policy
  - D. Chernenko succeeds -- 1984
    - 1. Relations with military
    - 2. Place of foreign policy on his agenda?
    - 3. Gromyko and Ustinov more powerful?
    - 4. Fathers and Sons?
- III. Soviet Behavior
  - A. Detente remains policy
    - 1. Is it as central? Has it paid off?
    - 2. Is it only for Europe?
    - 3. Is anyone's politial career dependent on it?
    - 4. What expectations for it?

- B. Negotiations
  - 1. Slowness in acting--put off rather than face?
  - 2. Leave the table re bilateral talks with US
  - 3. Threats carried out
- C. Confidence
  - 1. Can international isolation of USSR be avoided?
  - 2. Is international situation "dangerous" to USSR?
- D. Outlook
  - 1. No initiatives in 1984
  - 2. Can foreign affairs be put on back burner?
  - 3. Lowered expectations
  - 4. Shift to "European" issues (CDE, MBFR)?
  - 5. Is there a Soviet strategy for E-W relations?